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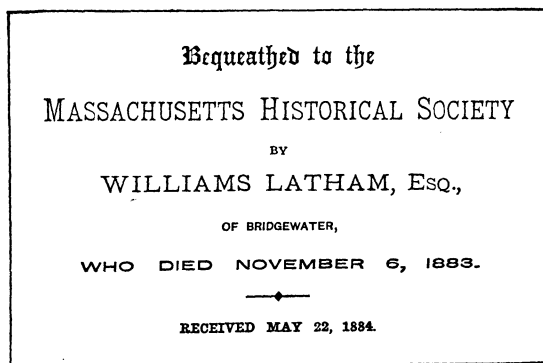
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JUNE MEETING, 1884.

The meeting of the Society was held, as usual, on Thursday, the 12th instant, and the President, the Hon. ROBERT C. WINTHROP, filled the chair.

A report of the last meeting was read by the Recording Secretary and accepted.

The additions by gift to the Library were stated by the Librarian, who referred to the bequest of Mr. Williams Latham, comprising one hundred and sixty-two volumes, all musical works. In these a special book-plate has been inserted, of which the following is a copy:—



The PRESIDENT presented a printed obituary notice in French of the historian Mignet, which had been sent by the family to this Society. He proceeded in these words:—

During my absence from home, Gentlemen, for three or four weeks of April and May, I had some experiences not unworthy of mention here for a place in our records. At Washington, I was fortunate enough to witness the unveiling of a fine statue of Chief Justice Marshall, by our Corresponding Member, Mr. William W. Story. Seated in a chair carefully copied from the one so long occupied by him in the

Supreme Court of the United States, he is represented in the act of delivering one of his great opinions. The statue has a prominent place on the west front of the Capitol, and cannot fail to renew and perpetuate an impression of the inestimable services of Marshall in giving a sound construction to the Constitution in the earliest stages of its existence. It will always have an additional interest, too, as the work of the accomplished son of one who was so long and lovingly associated with the great Chief Justice on the Supreme Bench. Marshall, we may well remember, was an Honorary Member of this Society, — having been chosen in 1809, a few years after he had published his voluminous and valuable “Life of Washington.”

At Philadelphia, by special invitation of Mr. Brinton Coxe, the recently elected President, I visited the new hall of the Pennsylvania Historical Society, and found it most commodious and attractive. It has at least one signal advantage over our own rooms in being on the ground floor, and as thus involving no high climbing over iron stairways. If we shall ever have as large an endowment as our Philadelphia friends have had, we may be privileged to occupy the lower stories of our own building. But I fear that such a consummation will not be reached — however devoutly it may be wished — until some of those who find the ascent most difficult shall have gone higher, and be out of the way of enjoying the improvement.

At New York, our Corresponding Members, Dr. Moore and Dr. Allibone, were most kind in receiving me at the Lenox Library, where, among other new and notable acquisitions, I saw a large volume of autograph papers and original instruments connected with the poet Milton, and some important additions to the De Bry collection of Mr. Lenox, making it the most complete in the world, and, as a whole, altogether unique.

But, notwithstanding these and other enjoyments, I was sincerely sorry to have missed our last meeting, and especially sorry to have lost the opportunity of hearing the communication of Mr. Lawrence in regard to his relations with the early history of Kansas and with the celebrated John Brown. I trust that this communication will soon be printed in full among the Proceedings of that meeting. There are

few things more important to the ultimate truth of history than the seasonable correction of popular errors by those who have personal and positive knowledge that they are errors.

Mr. Lawrence has himself, by his generous contributions to our Library, made us in some sort the custodians and guardians of whatever relates to the late Civil War and to the exciting events which preceded it. There is probably nowhere else so complete a collection as that which he has given us, from time to time, of the books and pamphlets which have been published in such profusion in regard to that period. But we all know how many of those publications have been of a sensational, or, it may be, of a partisan or sectional character; and I think we shall all agree that misrepresentations and mistakes in the accounts of that period, whether relating to military or civil proceedings, should be exposed and corrected by those who discover them, before it is too late.

Biographies and autobiographies, diaries, memoirs, reminiscences, and recollections, succeed each other with marvellous rapidity in these days, and form a most attractive reading for us all. But so many errors find their way into this class of productions, by carelessness or prejudice or malice, that they can by no means be accepted as history. There is a good story of Mr. Jefferson, who was very systematic in cataloguing and classifying his library, and who, on receiving a copy of Wirt's "Life of Patrick Henry," said that he had been greatly perplexed in deciding where to place the volume, but had finally arranged it under the head of Fiction. A terser expression on a kindred topic fell from the lips of Mr. Calhoun, while I was in the way of hearing him in the Senate, when he said, "Mr. President, I have long ago made up my mind that a Diary is evidence against no one but the writer of it."

If we could be sure that these memoirs and recollections would be republished with annotations and corrections, even at the end of a hundred years, as Wraxall's have just been, they might be suffered to pass unnoticed now. But no such revision can be safely counted upon, and corrections must be made now or never. Following the good example of Mr. Lawrence, I propose to make one or two this afternoon.

I have been examining with interest the Autobiography of the late Thurlow Weed, as recently published. It purports to

have been commenced by him at Santa Cruz, on the 15th of February, 1845. But the second chapter is dated "New York, 1st January, 1869," — twenty-four years later, — when Mr. Weed was in his seventy-second year; and it states that the work had been suspended till then. Meantime the little preface by his respected and excellent daughter, by whom the volume was prepared for publication after her father's death, speaks of the Autobiography as "written at various periods, and frequently in detached fragments." All this will amply account for any inaccuracies which may be found in the volume, and will completely disarm every disposition to criticise it unkindly.

My attention has been particularly called to the early part of the sixty-sixth chapter, at page 634, where a very imperfect and incorrect account is given of an unofficial mission to Europe which was offered to several gentlemen of various parts of the country by Secretary Seward and President Lincoln in October, 1861. The language of the Autobiography is as follows: —

"Late in October, 1861, it was deemed important by the Administration that some gentlemen of intelligence and experience, possessing a good knowledge of all the circumstances which preceded and occasioned the Rebellion, should be sent abroad to disabuse the public mind, especially in England and France, where numerous and active agents of secession and rebellion had long been at work in quarters too ready to accept versions unfavorable to the North. Simultaneously I arrived at Washington (says Mr. Weed), and was informed by the Secretary of State that the late Edward Everett of Boston, and Archbishop Hughes of New York, J. P. Kennedy of Baltimore, and Bishop McIlvaine of Ohio, had been invited to accept this mission, but that he was embarrassed by the declension of Messrs. Everett and Kennedy. Mr. Everett (he continues), having formerly been our Minister at the Court of St. James, did not feel at liberty to accept an unofficial position; Mr. Kennedy did not feel able to abandon his business and go abroad without compensation. The four gentlemen thus selected were informed by the Secretary of State that their actual expenses only would be paid. The Secretary then asked me to suggest two suitable persons to supply these vacancies. I named Mr. Winthrop of Boston, and Mr. Ewing of Ohio. He thought well of both, and said he would immediately suggest their names to the President and Cabinet. Archbishop Hughes, Bishop McIlvaine, and Secretary Chase were to dine that day with Secretary Seward. I told him that I would drop in after his guests had left in

the evening. I called at nine o'clock, and found the Archbishop, who had been informed that I was expected, waiting for me. And now I learned, greatly to my surprise and regret, that the Archbishop had declined. Of the four gentlemen designated, Bishop McIlvaine alone had accepted. The Secretary, after I came in, resumed the conversation, and renewedly urged the Archbishop to accept; but he persisted in his declination, repeating, as I inferred, the reasons previously given for declining."

Mr. Weed then proceeds to give an account of his own conversation with the Archbishop and Mr. Seward, and to state the circumstances under which he himself accompanied the Archbishop on this mission on the 6th of November, 1861. Of this part of the narrative I have nothing to say, and do not question its accuracy. I wish only to correct the errors in the previous passages.

Now, as a matter of fact, there were five gentlemen, not four, originally selected by Mr. Seward and President Lincoln for this unofficial mission, and it happened to me to be one of the five. On the 19th of October, 1861, I received a letter from the Secretary of State (still extant), dated the 17th, requesting me to come on to Washington to confer with him "upon a matter of public concern." I left home accordingly on the 22d, and reported to the Secretary at Washington on the morning of the 24th. The public funeral of my friend and former colleague in Congress, Colonel Baker, who had been killed at Ball's Bluff a few days before, — which I attended, meeting the President and Cabinet there, — prevented me from having any formal conference with Mr. Seward during the day; but I dined with him and his family in the evening, and he then unfolded the object of his summons. I here copy, from notes taken at the time, the communication made to me at his dinner-table on that evening:—

"After we had been at table a short time, Governor Seward said that as all his family were members of the State Department, and knew how to observe confidence, he would tell me at once for what he had invited me to Washington. He said that though his despatches from abroad indicated that the opinion of foreign nations was more favorable to the North than it had been at first, yet it was considered highly important that every proper step should be taken to increase the good feeling of Europe towards the cause of the Union, and to counteract the influences which might be produced by Southern agents and

commissioners. With this view, it was the earnest wish of the President, and of himself and Mr. Chase (Secretary of the Treasury), that a few gentlemen who were known abroad should make a visit to England and France at an early day, and mingle with the leading men in London and Paris. For this purpose he had invited Mr. Everett and myself of Boston, Archbishop Hughes of New York, Bishop McIlvaine of Ohio, and Mr. J. P. Kennedy of Baltimore, to come on to Washington for a confidential consultation. Bishop McIlvaine and Mr. Kennedy (he said) had dined with him sociably the day before, and, after a full understanding of the matter, had agreed to go. Archbishop Hughes, he added, was to be with him this evening; but from Mr. Everett he had not yet heard, — he being absent from home and the invitation not having reached him. He then said that it must necessarily be an unofficial proceeding on our part, — a kind of volunteer service in the field of diplomacy; but he added that the expenses of our trip would be defrayed, and every facility given us for speaking with authority. He urged me strongly to go. I told him that nothing would give me more satisfaction than to render any service to the cause of the Union at home or abroad, and that I felt highly complimented in being included in such a proposal, — adding, however, that my obligations to my family, under the peculiar circumstances in which it was placed by a recent domestic bereavement, threw a doubt on my ability to leave home just now. But I promised to give the subject my best consideration, and to go if I could.

“We had hardly finished dinner when Archbishop Hughes was announced, and we all went up to the drawing-room, where Mr. Seward repeated to him all that he had previously said to me.

“The next day (Friday) I called first on the President. Mr. Seward and Archbishop Hughes met me by appointment in the anteroom, and we went in together to the President’s library. The President alluded at once to the subject of our being called to Washington, and seemed earnestly desirous that we should give him an affirmative answer.”

I forbear from any account of our conversation with President Lincoln, in which he displayed some of his characteristic qualities of wit as well as wisdom, as it would interrupt the current of this explanation; but I recall it as full of entertainment. On the following morning I spent an hour with Mr. Seward at the State Department. It was closed to all but foreign ministers; but I was at once admitted to a conference, and the Secretary placed in my hand a long and interesting despatch, just received from England, which had given him, as it certainly gave me, a more hopeful impression that there

would be no interference, on the part of Great Britain, with our prosecution of the War for the Union. I then spent a few minutes with the Secretary of the Treasury, Mr. Chase, who urged me strongly to comply with Mr. Seward's request and go abroad.

Meantime my friend Mr. Kennedy had written to me to come down and pass Sunday with him, that we might consult together in regard to this unofficial mission; and I left Washington in the afternoon for his cottage at Ellicott's Mills. I found that we entirely agreed in our views of the matter, — both of us having many doubts as to the wisdom of the proceeding, in view of the danger of interference with our accredited ministers abroad, and both foreseeing some embarrassments in our going at once to Europe, but both of us resolved to make any personal sacrifices in our power to comply with the wishes of Mr. Seward and the President. To say nothing of myself, Mr. Kennedy had then virtually accepted the appointment, as Mr. Seward had told me, and fully contemplated going abroad at an early day. I may add that Archbishop Hughes had already more than implied, in his conference with the President, Mr. Seward, and myself, that he was both disposed and ready to go, as he soon afterwards did go.

And now as to Mr. Everett. It happened that he was absent from home, and was thus out of the way of receiving the summons to Washington for several days after the occurrences I have stated. But nothing could be less correct than the statement of Mr. Weed that he had embarrassed the Government by "his declension" of the mission. Returning to Boston a few days afterwards, and there receiving Mr. Seward's request for a conference, Mr. Everett proceeded to Washington without delay, and there wrote to me on the 3d of November as follows: —

MY DEAR MR. WINTHROP, — I have yours of the 30th. I was very sorry not to see you before I left home. I have had one short conversation with Mr. S. since I came here, and have not been able to possess myself fully of his views on the application he has made to us. I shall probably see him again to-day or to-morrow. Kennedy has written to me that he will come down to-morrow. . . .

I am very doubtful whether I shall be able to accede to Seward's proposal. I have appointments to speak in great number, from which I could not well disengage myself without assigning the cause, which he

does not wish done. I do not care to cross the Atlantic in December, and I could not earlier; and the health of my eldest son is such as makes me very unwilling to leave him. . . .

I shall not stay here beyond Friday, and I fear that I may be called home sooner to my son.

Ever sincerely yours,

EDWARD EVERETT.

And now I will read a letter from Mr. Kennedy, which explains the whole matter both as to himself and Mr. Everett, and, I may add, as to myself also.

BALTIMORE, MADISON ST., Nov. 10, 1861.

MY DEAR WINTHROP, — I went to Washington on Monday last, and there met Everett. Seward having gone to New York, I returned home the same evening, promising Everett to come back on Thursday, that we might have an interview together with the Secretary. . . .

I returned to Washington on Thursday, knowing that I was not to meet Mr. Everett, who had written to me the sad cause that hastened him home. My object was to make definitive arrangements with the Secretary for my departure by the "Persia" on the 20th, and to leave here next Thursday. I saw him that morning and again the next morning. He told me that the last despatches from England and France had announced a most satisfactory and significant change of opinion in both countries, and that now everything began to authorize the hope of a decided policy of non-intervention throughout Europe. This led me to suggest to him the question whether this change did not make it desirable to postpone, at least for the present, the purpose contemplated in our mission. I said that it struck me as a matter of some moment that the Government should not appear too sensitive to the opinion of those who were hostile to us, when it had such assurances as he had received of the determination of the Ministry in England and France to forbid any interference with the blockade, etc. He replied that the Cabinet had been in conference on the subject since the receipt of the despatch, and although they did not attach as much importance to the service proposed as before, they still thought it would be well for us to go. He himself, however, concurred with me in thinking that it might be better to wait until we heard something of the reception of Mason and Slidell, and more especially of the impression which might be made by the President's Message, which would be likely to bring the questions touching the war, and our views of what was due to us from foreign governments, to a definite point for their consideration. I assured him that I would much rather wait for some future emergency which might render our services useful, than go to England now with

a conviction that we should have very little to do in the line of duty he required. He said he was gratified that I took this view of the subject, and that he would assume upon himself, notwithstanding the decision of the Cabinet, to postpone for the present the purpose of urging our departure. He added he would write to me hereafter on the matter, and if events should require an early resumption of the scheme, he would let me know. And so we parted. This leaves me, very much to my content, the hope of a quiet domestication at home for the winter. . . .

Yours ever,

J. P. K.

These letters from Mr. Everett and Mr. Kennedy, of which the originals are in my hands, and from which I have omitted nothing which related to the subject, prove clearly that Mr. Weed was greatly mistaken in his account of the matter. They show that Mr. Everett had not declined the service on the ground that, "having formerly been our Minister at the Court of St. James, he did not feel at liberty to accept an unofficial position," or on any other ground; and that if there was any embarrassment at Washington occasioned by him, it was simply owing to his having been absent from home and not receiving Mr. Seward's request for a conference until many days after it had reached the rest of us. These letters prove also that he went to Washington as soon as he had received the summons on his return home, and had an interview with the Secretary on the subject, and that he was to have had a second consultation with him and Mr. Kennedy the next day, but was suddenly called back to Boston by the death of his eldest son. I may add, from my own personal knowledge at the time, that Mr. Everett held the subject of going abroad under deliberation for many weeks, and even months, afterwards, and was ready to do so at any moment when he could see his way clear to rendering any service to the Government.

Meantime Mr. Kennedy's letter abundantly shows that so far from having declined, on the ground that he did "not feel able to abandon his business and go abroad without compensation," he had accepted the appointment at once, and that he went a second time, and even a third time, to Washington "to make definite arrangements with the Secretary for his departure by the 'Persia' on the 20th of November." His letter amply explains the circumstances and views which led to the

abandonment of this arrangement, and to the postponement, with the full concurrence of Mr. Seward, of the plan for any of us going.

I have not the slightest idea that Mr. Weed had any purpose to do injustice to any of the parties concerned in this matter, or that he knowingly misrepresented the facts of the case. It is plain that he was ignorant of those facts at the time, and made up his account from his own impressions long afterwards. Indeed, he was quite out of the way of knowing anything about the relations to the matter of Mr. Kennedy, Mr. Everett, or myself. Neither of us met him at Washington; and if we had met him, the strictest confidence had been enjoined upon us by the Secretary, and we could not have communicated with him or any one else on the subject. But, as a matter of fact, he had left Washington, according to his own account, long before Mr. Everett arrived there, and had sailed for England, with Archbishop Hughes, four days before the date of my letter from Mr. Kennedy. His account of the matter clearly shows, that he was too much absorbed in his own relations with Archbishop Hughes and with his own preparations for embarking, to make any inquiries as to what others were proposing to do, or to get any accurate information as to what actually occurred. I should be the last person to speak unkindly of him or of his Autobiography. My relations to him during the later years of his life were of the most friendly character, and I had formed a warm personal regard for him. His work is one of great interest, and exhibits a career of marvellous activity and ability. But as I am the only survivor of the five persons originally selected for this unofficial mission, I am unwilling that friends whose memories are so dear to me as those of Mr. Everett and Mr. Kennedy, should suffer by so inaccurate an account of their course, however unintentional or accidental the mistake may have been.

In a cursory examination of the second of the Weed volumes, subsequently published, and entitled a "Memoir of Thurlow Weed," I have observed another allusion to myself which requires a slight correction. It will be found on page 363, and is as follows:—

"In 1852 Mr. Weed was apprised of those benevolent purposes which Mr. Peabody afterwards so nobly carried into effect. They discussed together his first great project for relieving the poor of London.

When Mr. Peabody visited this country, in 1866, he communicated to Mr. Weed his then immature scheme for the education and elevation of the Southern poor. He urged Mr. Weed to act as trustee; but this honor was declined in favor of Robert C. Winthrop."

Now I am well aware that Mr. Peabody had a warm personal regard for Mr. Weed, and it is not impossible or improbable that he gave him some early intimation of his idea of making a provision for the education of the children in the States which had been desolated by the War for the Union. But when Mr. Peabody returned from England, and came out to Brookline, by appointment, on the 3d of October, 1866, — immediately after his arrival, — and spent some days with me in confidential consultation, four months before this great Southern benefaction was divulged, he gave me expressly to understand that no human being had been made acquainted with this particular purpose of his, and placed the whole matter unreservedly in my hands, as being altogether undecided upon. I may add that in all our repeated conferences about the members of the board to which the trust should be committed, — the ultimate selection of whom he left mainly to myself, — no New York names were ever mentioned except those of Governor Fish, Mr. Evarts, and Mr. Wetmore; and those were at once agreed upon.

Mr. Weed, in a published letter to the editor of the New York "Commercial Advertiser," — soon after the death of Mr. Peabody, in November, 1869, — stated this matter somewhat differently: "I was much with Mr. Peabody," he says, "in 1861, while he was maturing his first great contribution to the poor of London. When he arrived here, in 1866, he communicated his then immature programme for the education and elevation of the Southern poor, and consulted with me in relation to suitable men for trustees. And it may be proper to say here, that the beneficent plan finally adopted was the suggestion of the Hon. Robert C. Winthrop." This statement, in Mr. Weed's own words, may be left to speak for itself. The language of his recent biography is less consistent with an account of this memorable transaction, which I had occasion to give to my fellow trustees at their annual meeting in 1877, in describing "the origin and progress of the Peabody Education Trust." In that account I find nothing to modify.

JUDGE CHAMBERLAIN laid before the Society a copy of a very early map of Eastern Massachusetts, and said that the little that is known of its history is as follows:—

Mr. Henry F. Waters, now in England, exploring the sources of genealogical and historical information, while searching the Map Department of the British Museum, at the request of our associate, Mr. John T. Hassam, for the map of the Carolina coast, a copy of which was published in our Proceedings (vol. xx. p. 402), accidentally came upon two other maps, one of which was entitled "Massachusetts in N. Englande;" and the other, "A Draught of Boston Harbor." This information having been communicated to the librarian of the Public Library, and by him to the trustees of that institution, they directed that copies of both these maps should be obtained. The map of Massachusetts is now before the Society. The plan of the harbor, which is understood to be that of Cyprian Southack in 1694, is being copied, and in due time will reach this city.¹

These maps formed a part of the Sloane Collection, which was the foundation of the British Museum; but from what source they came into the possession of Sir Hans may never be known, though inquiry will be made.

It appears to have been the design of the draughtsman to include in this map that part of the Massachusetts Patent bounded on the east by the sea; on the north and south by east and west lines running three miles north and south, respectively, of the Merrimack and the Charles; and on the west by a line about a mile westerly of the Musketaquit, or Concord River, the rise of which in Lake Cochituate, and northward flow through the Sudbury Meadows to the Merrimack, is clearly shown. The position of the hills, ponds, and rivers in this territory, as also the seats of the Indian tribes, and English settlements, though not the result of exact measurements, is laid down with considerable accuracy. The road to Plymouth on the south is shown; and so are the roads between Medford and Lynn, and from thence to Ipswich, and that between Lynn and Salem. The following are the names of the settlements given on the map: Wessaguscus, Conyhassett, Nataskett, Dorchester, Rocksbury, Boston, Newtowne, Waterton, Char:towne, Meadford, Winesemett, Pullin Pointe,

¹ It has since been received.

Nottle's I., Deere I., Sagus, Nahant, Marble Harbour, Salem, Agawam, Anasquam, and Cape Ann.

This map is twenty and a half inches from north to south, by fourteen inches from east to west. Besides the names of places, etc., given on the map itself, information as to particular points and objects is found in the margin, by the following memoranda in the hand of Governor Winthrop : —

A : ¹ *An Iland cont 100: acres where the Governour hath an orchard & a vinyarde.*

B. *Mr Humfries ferme house at Sagus.*

Ten Hills: The Governours ferme house.

Meadford: Mr. Cradocks ferme house.

C. *The Wyndmill* } *at Boston.*

D. *The fforte*

E. *The weere.*

So far as the rivers are laid thus ~~~~~, they are navigable with the tide.

There is also a "Scale of 10: Italian miles, 320: perches to the mile, not taken by instrument but by estimate."

The date of this interesting map is nowhere given. If the indication of the site of the windmill at Boston was made contemporaneously with the date of the map, it was later than 1632, since in July of that year "the windmill was brought down to Boston, because, where it stood near Newtown, it would not grind but with a westerly wind;" but how much later can only be determined approximately.

The towns at that early period were so few that it may be fairly assumed that any map of the section in which they were situated would indicate their existence; and consequently, if any such places do not appear on the map, it follows that it was made before their erection.

Now, neither Newbury, on the north, which was made a town May 6, 1635, nor Dedham, on the south, which was made a town Sept. 8, 1636, appears on this map. By this test the date of the map was prior to May, 1635. It was probably a year earlier, at least, as may be conjectured from the following considerations.

The draughtsman would undoubtedly give to each town represented on the map the name it bore at the date of the

¹ The above capital letters refer to corresponding letters on the map.

draught. Between 1634 and 1637 the General Court made the following changes in the names of towns: Agawam to Ipswich, Aug. 5, 1634; Newtowne to Cambridge, Sept. 8, 1634; Bear Cove to Hingham, and Wessaguscut to Weymouth, Sept. 2, 1635, and Sagus to Lynn, Nov. 20, 1637. But the map, in all these cases, gives the earlier name; and the inference is, that it was made prior to Aug. 5, 1634, when Agawam became Ipswich.

Approximately, therefore, we find the date of the map between August, 1632, and August, 1634. Whoever may have written the names of the towns and rivers on the map, any one acquainted with Winthrop's handwriting will at once recognize it in the memoranda in the margin. But a question arises when he affixed the marginalia to the map. Presumably prior to the changes of names made by the General Court, all of which he mentions in his "Journal." But this conclusion applies only to those names which had been the subject of change, and involves some difficulties.

But if we are right in fixing the date of the map before May, 1634, then it will appear that the marginalia must have been added some years later; because "Mr. Humfryes ferme house at Sagus," would hardly, though possibly, have been erected before he came over in July, 1634; and still less likely before he had title to the land on which it was built, which was nearly a year later, or May 6, 1635. And so of "Mr Cradocks ferme house at Meadford," which was built on land granted in March 4, 1635.

Nor is it easy to see how these notes could have been made at any time between May 14, 1634, and May 17, 1637. The first entry in the margin is that of "an Iland cont 100: acres where the Governour hath an orchard & a vinyarde." Now Winthrop could not have styled himself as the Governor during the three years (1634-36) during which the chair was held successively by Dudley, Haynes, and Vane.

Nor is this all. Unless the General Court was slack in payment of services rendered, the entry under the great river on the northerly side of the map, in the hand of the Governor and in these words, — "Merimack river it runnes 100 miles up into the Country and falls out of a pond 10: miles broad," — could not have been made before 1639, as appears from the following entry in the Colony Records, under June

6th of that year: "Goodm Nathaniell Woodward was ordered to have three pounds for his journey to discover the running up of Merrimack."¹

But a difficulty remains. If Winthrop made these entries for the information, as is possible, of some persons in England meditating emigration to Massachusetts, why should he have failed to indicate the changed nomenclature of important towns?

An interesting question arises as to the person who draughted this map. Was it Winthrop himself? Judging from the accuracy of the sketch of the Salem shore which he made on shipboard, as he was approaching the coast, he did not lack the requisite skill as a draughtsman. But the person most likely to have been the draughtsman was Thomas Graves, the engineer, who, in his contract with the New England Company, March 10, 1628-9, describes himself as skilful and experienced "in describing a country by mappe."² We know that he made a plan of Charlestown, and was often consulted respecting the division of land. His description of the country in a letter sent to England shows that he was familiar with it.³ But the most serious objection to this hypothesis is the total dissimilarity of the handwriting on the map to Graves's signature, a fac-simile of which may be found in Frothingham, page 140.

A more careful examination than has been found convenient will be necessary to settle satisfactorily the questions as to the date and source of this interesting map.

Mr. UPHAM said:—

In connection with the important discovery of which Judge Chamberlain has given us an account, I desire to call the attention of the Society to a sketch or chart made by Governor Winthrop of the headlands and islands seen by him on his approach to this coast in 1630, and also to a map of the general outline of the North Shore, as we call it now, from Gloucester to Marblehead. The chart will be found on page 23 of his Journal, apparently left blank for the purpose. The map is on page 170.

¹ Mass. Col. Rec., vol. i. p. 261.

² *Ibid.*, p. 32.

³ Frothingham's History of Charlestown, p. 27.

This map, simple as it is, has a very peculiar value and interest. It is, I presume, the first of the kind made by an actual and permanent resident of the colony; and, so far as it goes, it is quite minute and accurate, presenting to us in a most interesting manner the general appearance of the coast to an intelligent observer, as seen by him for the first time, probably from some elevated position on shipboard.

At a meeting of the Essex Institute in 1870, I read a paper on the first settlement of Salem, giving as well as I could, from a careful study of the records, the location of the first houses and house-lots, and the plan upon which the town was originally laid out. A mistaken idea had long prevailed that the earliest settlement was at Collins' Cove, on that part of Salem which extends northward towards Beverly, where there was, and still is, a large area of marsh land, known as the "Old Planters' Marsh." All the evidence of the records, however, proves that the first buildings were in what is now the central part of the city, near where the Eastern Railroad passes through it. To help me in sustaining this record evidence, I was allowed to make a tracing of Winthrop's sketch of 1630, to exhibit at that meeting. The peninsula upon which Salem is situated is there exhibited with remarkable correctness; and the manner in which the South River is delineated confirms the belief that it was the narrow and winding channel of that river which Winthrop describes in his Journal as having rendered it necessary to "warp" his vessel. Collins' Cove, which is a shallow inlet laid bare at low tide, is hardly represented at all. I have given this particular statement to show why the sketch of 1630 is specially interesting to me, and as a reason for my expressing a hope that the Society will cause it to be suitably published, in connection with this later map, apparently by the same hand.

As to the plan or map now exhibited, it confirms in a marked manner the opinion above stated as to the location of the first houses in Salem. It would seem that the date of its draughting must have been between 1632 and 1635. Were it not for the houses of Humphrey and Cradock, which would probably carry it to 1634, I believe there is nothing to conflict with as early a date as 1633. The highways and the names of places indicate that year. If the date had been later, it would seem probable that the settlement at Agawam would have been

called Ipswich. I do not find the name "Marble Harbor" used after 1634.

In connection with the mention of Humphrey's house, it may be interesting to read a copy of a paper which I found a few days ago among the mass of Court Files at Suffolk Court House, which have recently been placed in my charge for arrangement.

John Putnum of Lawfull age testifieth & saith y^t to his sertain knowledge about Sixty years scence Collo^{ll} John humphrys did liue one and Improue the plaine farme or farme commonly known by the name of M^r humpheryes plaine or farme Lyeing neare unto Marble head: & bordering on M^r Petters farme: & forest Riuer; I this deponent did work one sd farme for diverse years together; in carting Timber &c; and did frequent M^r humpheryes house one sd farme in the above sd time and farther I the deponent doe testife y^t Coll^{ll} Humphreys did improue sd farme by building Plowing and fenceing of sd [farme] and was reputed his for diverse years; and neuer knew anything to the contrary and farther adds that this farme was called plain farme neare to a farme called Swampscutt where the Lady Moody lived and to the Eastward with Peters [*Devereuxes* previously written but cancelled] farme

IPSWICH May 21, 1702 Sworne in Court

Attests ELISHA COOKE Cls.

Dr. CLARKE then spoke substantially as follows in reference to John Brown of Osawatomie:—

I did not have the opportunity of hearing Mr. Lawrence's remarks on John Brown at our last meeting; being, like yourself, sir, outside of the State at that time. What I wish to say now, is not therefore intended as a reply to Mr. Lawrence, whose generous efforts in behalf of Kansas, made in her darkest hours, contributed, as we know, more than those perhaps of any one else, toward making her a free State. But I wish to express my dissent from a view taken by some persons to the effect that Brown was an unprincipled ruffian, delighting in bloodshed, and ready to stir up an insurrection among slaves, no matter what might happen to their masters. This notion is false. John Brown was a Puritan of the type of Cromwell's troopers, who took the Old Testament view of the way of treating one's enemies, rather than that of the New Testa-

ment. He believed in fighting fire with fire. He cherished no ill-will toward any human being; there was no malice or desire for vengeance in his constitution. Till he was fifty-five years old he had lived in various parts of the country, passing a sober, industrious, honest, and peaceable life. Everywhere he was respected as an upright man, seeking to obey all laws, human and divine. His faith in "the higher law" only meant this,—that when the law of God and that of man were in conflict, "we must obey God rather than man."

The Missouri Compromise of 1820 admitted Missouri into the Union as a slave State, but forbade the existence of slavery in any Territory north of $36^{\circ} 30'$. Having secured their share of the bargain, the slave-power succeeded in repealing the other side, which was in favor of freedom; and slavery was no longer prohibited from entering Kansas. The only way to prevent this evil was by settling it with men from the free States who should be favorable to liberty. For this purpose the Emigrant Aid Societies were formed, and John Brown with his sons went to Kansas to assist in this object. But the slave-power determined to defeat it, not only by sending slaveholders into Kansas, as they had a right to do, but by establishing a reign of terror, which should drive the free-State settlers out of the Territory. For this purpose men were taken from their homes, tortured and murdered, for no offence except that they wished Kansas to be a free State. The people of Missouri invaded Kansas, and drove the free-State men from the polls. The United States Government was on the slaveholders' side, and gave neither protection nor redress to the other party. Dow, a free-State settler, was shot down in open day. Barber was shot dead by an Indian agent. Baker was taken from his house, whipped, hung to a tree till half dead, then released on condition of leaving Kansas. Sherman (one of those put to death by Brown) was engaged in these barbarities, and threatened that if the other free-State men did not leave they would share the fate of Baker. Bondi, who knew all the facts, says that Sherman (called "Dutch Bill") was a giant, six feet four inches high; and for some weeks before his death, he, in company with the Doyles, had broken into the houses of the free-State settlers, insulted their women, and ill-treated any men whom they found alone. One woman had been so terrified that she died of the fright. Other women

were begging for protection against these ruffians, for themselves and their children. John Brown regarded it as a state of war, and determined to protect these families by exterminating this nest of murderers; and after they were killed the country had peace.

A friend of mine, the Rev. Ephraim Nute, went out to Kansas as a missionary; but as he was one of the free-State emigrants, he was threatened with death if he remained. One Sunday morning, the news came to Boston that he had been seized by the Border ruffians, and was in danger of being killed. I tried to think what I could do to save him. Perhaps you, Mr. Winthrop, will remember that I came to your house that Sunday afternoon, and asked you if you knew Colonel Sumner (afterward General Sumner), then commanding the United States troops in Kansas, and if you would write to him to interfere and save Mr. Nute's life. You answered most promptly and cordially that you would do so. "Tell me what to say," said you, "and I will write it." Accordingly you wrote an earnest appeal to Colonel Sumner, and handed it to me to mail. I presume that letter may have had much to do with Mr. Nute's escape. This illustrates the condition of things in Kansas at that time.

It is easy for us, living in a land of law and order, to denounce such an act as that of John Brown, and call it a cold-blooded assassination; but I imagine we should have felt differently if we were living with our wives and children in the neighborhood of men who had threatened their lives, and who had already committed numerous outrages. There was no law to punish these men or defend these innocent families. The same state of things which produced the Vigilance Committees of California, who also took the lives of offenders without any process of law, then existed in Kansas.

I am not defending John Brown's conduct as justifiable by the Christian code,—you cannot carry on war according to the principles of the Gospel,—but I am showing that John Brown may have been a sober, just, and peaceable man, and yet have felt it his duty to take the only way in his power to put a stop to the atrocities then being perpetrated. He no doubt believed it an act of self-defence to take the lives of these ruffians. Jesse Brown, in his reply to Mr. Utter, in the "North American Review," says: "From my earliest recollec-

tion of my father, he was the most conscientious man I ever knew; and I am sure that nothing but the sternest sense of duty could have induced him to cause the death of these men on Potawatomie Creek." The Doyles had been slave-hunters before they came to Kansas, and they brought two of their bloodhounds with them. Dutch Bill (Mr. Sherman) had amassed considerable property by robbing cattle-drovers and emigrants. Wilkinson was one of the principal leaders in all attempts to annoy and extirpate the free-State men. On the very day of his death he had threatened some of them that in a few days they would be either dead or driven out of the Territory. This is the testimony of Bondi, who was living in that neighborhood, and himself knew all these persons. The leaders of the pro-slavery party had publicly declared that they would neither give nor receive quarter, and had announced beforehand a war of extermination.

I think that my friend Mr. Lawrence is mistaken in speaking of John Brown's "design at Harper's Ferry of exciting a servile insurrection." I saw Brown just before he went to Virginia, and he told me that he meant to repeat in another part of the country what he had done in Missouri, by taking the slaves from the border slave-States into a land of freedom. His design was not insurrection, but to set the slaves free, and take them into a free State. In this way, he thought, slavery would be made insecure, and gradually pushed farther south. His plan was unsound, and its failure was certain. But it was not slave insurrection which he intended.

John Brown will remain, I believe, a monumental figure; a survival of the old Covenanters, who carried a sword in one hand and a Bible in the other. He was such a man as those whom Scott has so well described in "Old Mortality." I have no doubt that the final verdict of history will confirm the opinion of Governor Andrew, — "Whatever we may think of John Brown's *actions*, John Brown *himself* was right."

Mr. DEANE read an extract from an article which appeared in the "Cambridge Tribune" of the preceding week, on "The Statue of John Harvard," in which the writer, after speaking of the donor and the artist, proceeded to say that "the statue will be as near a portrait one as the very few pictures of John Harvard now remaining will allow." So, said Mr. Deane, we

are fast realizing the forebodings of the President, in his remarks at the last October meeting of the Society, about "mythical statues" and "the confusing and confounding of historical truth." Every one present knows that no picture or image of John Harvard has come down to us, and that the accomplished artist has been obliged to draw upon his own resources in modelling the ideal features of his subject; and in this respect he has been particularly happy in receiving suggestions and inspiration from sources which private friendship has laid open to him. We are fast collecting a gallery of doubtful and fictitious portraits of the fathers and founders of New England. We have a portrait of John Wilson, the minister of the first church in Boston, and of John Cotton, his associate, and of John Eliot, the apostle to the Indians, and of Roger Williams, the apostle of religious freedom. Probably, if the canvas could speak, no one of these pictured worthies would claim to be the "lively effigies" of the distinguished original. And now we are to include in that gallery a "portrait statue" of John Harvard.

Mr. HASSAM communicated some notes which had been forwarded to him from London in relation to certain researches now making with regard to the parentage and ancestry of John Harvard, and he stated that there were strong reasons for believing that the mystery which has so long enveloped this subject is about to be dispelled by the exhaustive search upon which Mr. Henry F. Waters is now engaged.

Mr. GOODELL submitted, without reading, the following copy of a commission of oyer and terminer for the trial for murder of the Indian, Mamoosin, at Salem, in 1703, which Mr. William P. Upham recently discovered in the Clerk's Office at Salem. This is the only commission of the kind known to be in existence; the commission printed in the Proceedings (vol. xx. p. 321), being of a form under a special statute.

ANNE, by the Grace of God of England, Scotland, France and Ireland Queen Defender of the Faith &c. —

TO our Trusty and Welbeloved JOHN HATHORNE, WILLIAM BROWNE, JONATHAN CORWIN, BENJAMIN BROWNE & JOHN HIGGINSON Esq^{rs}: Greeting.

SEAL.

KNOW YEE That we have assigned you or any three of you (whereof either of you the before named JOHN HATHORNE and WILLIAM BROWNE WE will to be one) OUR JUSTICES, for this time to enquire by the Oaths of good and lawful men, Inhabitants of Our County of Essex within OUR PROVINCE of the Massachusetts Bay in New England, and by other ways, means and methods, by which the Truth of the matter may be the better known of all Felonies, Murders, homicides and manslaughters committed by a certain Indian named MAMOOSIN now in Custody within Our Goal in the county afores^d: on whome, when, how and in what manner done and perpetrated, and of other Articles and circumstances, the premisses or any of them in anywise concerning. And the same Felonies, Murders homicides and Manslaughters to hear and determin according to Law. AND therefore We coñmand you That at Salem within the county of Essex afores^d: at a certain day on or before the Tenth day of December next comeing, which you or any Three of you (whereof either of you the before named JOHN HATHORNE and WILLIAM BROWNE WE will to be one) shall appoint for that purpose, you diligently make inquiry upon the premisses, and all and Singular the premisses hear and determin, and to do and Accomplish those things in forme afores^d: thereupon, which unto Justice appertaineth to be done according to Law. And such Order process, Judgement and Execution to be used; had, done and made against the said Indian, so being convicted of any of the Offences above mentioned respectively as by Law is Accustomed. Saving to us OUR amerciaments and other things to us thereupon belonging ALSO we Command OUR SHERIFFE of OUR s^d County, That at the day and place aforesaid, which you or Three of you (whereof either of you the before named JOHN HATHORNE & WILLIAM BROWNE WE will to be one) shall make known unto him, to cause to come before you or three of you (whereof either of you the before named JOHN HATHORNE & WILLIAM BROWNE WE will to be one) such and so many good and Lawful men of his Bailywick by whom the Truth of the matter may be the better known and Inquired.

IN TESTIMONY whereof WEE have caused the Publick Seal of OUR Province of the Massachusetts Bay aforesaid to be hereunto Affixed. WITNESS JOSEPH DUDLEY Esq^r: Captain General and Governour in Chief in and over OUR s^d: Province AT BOSTON the Twenty fourth day of November. In the Second year of OUR Reign annoq, Dñi 1703.

By Order of his Excellency the Govern^r: by &
with the Advice & Consent of y^e Council

J DUDLEY.

Is^a ADDINGTON. Señry.

[Endorsed by STEPHEN SEWALL, Clerk of the Courts]
"Comission to hold y^e Court
of Oyer & Terminer. 1703."

Mr. GOODELL further stated that the extract from Las Casas's "History of the Indies" which appears in a footnote to Helps's "Life of Las Casas," p. 67, is not to be found at the place referred to in the edition of that History printed at Madrid in 1876. He also said that the manuscript copy of the History used by Prescott is not in the library of Harvard College, and asked if any member could inform him where he could find that copy.¹

Mr. C. C. SMITH being about to sail for Europe, it was voted that he be authorized to represent this Society on any fit occasion while he is abroad.

Dr. GREEN mentioned that the account which he had given at a former meeting of the personal appearance of Peter Faneuil was confirmed by Sargent's "Dealings with the Dead," which states (vol. ii. p. 567) that "on one foot he wore a very high-heeled shoe."

A serial number of the Proceedings from January to March inclusive was laid on the table by the Recording Secretary.

It was voted that the meetings in July, August, and September be omitted, unless a special meeting shall be called by the President and Secretary.

¹ Mr. Goodell has since ascertained that the Prescott copy was probably consumed in the great fire at Boston, in November, 1872. The passage quoted by Helps, which is given at greater length by Quintana, appears in book 3, chapter 102, of the printed copy. Another similar passage quoted as from chapter 128 of the same book, in manuscript, is in chapter 129 in the printed volumes.